

rebirth and renewal I have seen in the other capitals of Central and Eastern Europe.

Bosnia is what happens when newly independent nations focus on old hatreds instead of new challenges. Four years ago, some people in the former Yugoslavia chose not to join Marshall's Europe. And the death and bloodshed that resulted will long echo in our memory. But today the door to Marshall's Europe is open again for them—and holding that door open are NATO, Russia and the newly free peoples of Central and Eastern Europe.

The success or failure of IFOR is crucial to whether or not we will complete Marshall's vision. It is in Bosnia where we are sending the message that NATO is the bedrock on which the future security and stability of Europe will be built. It is in Bosnia where NATO is first reaping the benefits of joint peacekeeping training with our new Peace Partners. It is in Bosnia where future NATO members are showing themselves ready and able to shoulder the burdens of membership. And it is in Bosnia where we are showing that we can work as partners with Russian forces. Bosnia is not a peacekeeping exercise. It is the real thing.

Bosnia is also teaching us important lessons about the kind of NATO that Marshall's Europe will require. Ever since the end of the Cold War, NATO has struggled to develop a mechanism for executing the new missions using NATO assets with the voluntary participation of NATO members.

In the conference room, we have so far failed to come up with an agreement on a Combined Joint Task Force, CJTF. But in the field, we have cut through these theological arguments and put together IFOR, which is CJTF. As with the NATO-Russia relationship, we need to take the practical lessons learned in putting IFOR together and extrapolate back until we have a CJTF that works.

Bosnia also casts in sharp relief something we have suspected for some time: that it is

time for NATO to adapt itself internally to deal with the new challenges of this new era. NATO was not well structured for the Bosnia mission. At a time when our political and geostrategic thinking has been completely reoriented, symbolized by our partnership in peacekeeping with former adversaries, and at a time when our individual military forces have streamlined and modernized for the battlefield of the future, NATO's command and decision-making structure is still geared for the challenges and the battlefields of the past. The time has come to streamline and modernize NATO, recognizing that our challenge is no longer simply to execute a known plan with already designated forces, as it was during the Cold War.

We must make NATO's command structure more responsive and more flexible, and streamline the planning and force preparation process, and simplify and speed-up the entire decision-making process. And we must complete the task of giving NATO's European members a stronger identity within the alliance. These kinds of internal changes will ready NATO for enlargement, and will allow us to better respond to the future challenges to European security and stability.

It is in this context that we welcome the French decision to participate more fully in NATO's military bodies. And we look forward to working with France as we transform the Alliance and realize Marshall's vision of a Europe united in peace, freedom and democracy.

In 1947, Marshall told America that it must "face up to the responsibility which history has placed upon our country." Today, it is not only America, but also Russia; is not only NATO nations, but all of Europe—all of us must face up to the responsibility which history has placed upon us. This means reaching out to each other not only in the spirit of friendship, but also in the spirit of self-interest. This means working towards our goals not only from the top-down, but also the ground-up. And it means recognizing

that when the outside world changes, we must look inside our institutions and see what changes are needed there.

If we do these things, then next year, when we commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan, we will be able to say that we made Marshall's vision our own. That Partnership for Peace is a strong, permanent pillar of Europe's security architecture. That NATO and Russia have a relationship where trust, understanding and cooperation are givens, not goals. That all the nations of the former Yugoslavia are adding, not detracting, from Europe's security. And that we have taken the passage to a new Europe and opened the door to a new era of peace, freedom and democracy.

Thank you very much.●

PROGRAM

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, immediately following morning business tomorrow, the Senate will begin 30 minutes of debate on the motion to invoke cloture on the D.C. appropriations conference report.

Senators should be aware that the cloture vote on the conference report will occur at 12:30 p.m. on Thursday.

RECESS UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that the Senate stand in recess under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 1:35 p.m., recessed until Thursday, February 29, 1996, at 11 a.m.